UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Is Dumb Dora Divine?

By RAYMOND H. PALMER

The Fascination of Mountains

(Concluded)

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

The University Voice on War

By EDWIN T. MEAD

Manchuria Serves Notice on Japan

By HARRY L. KINGMAN

The Arrest of Mme. Naidu

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CV MONDAY, JULY 21, 1930 NUMBER 20

BON VOYAGE*

[For Dr. W. W. W. Argow]

A mariner are you who loves his bark;
A blend of poet; seeker; shepherd; seer;
Your words are as a flame against the dark
To those who give them ear.

How like a brooding Socrates you seem,
Watching the world's strange pageantry go past
But hurt is in your heart for any dream
Which smothers out at last.

You know the souls of countless humble ones—
You hate the hollow shammings of the few
Who claim exalted places in the suns,
Yet all are loved by you.

A fighter you, but one despising blows;
Never the one demanding eye and tooth
But ready with your rapier for those
Who block the path of Truth.

Dreamer and doer; teacher; gentle sage—
Be stout of heart until the watch is through!
Your life begins a newly-written page—
The world has gifts for you!

Then go you bravely on your blazoned way,
To wave your torch across a far hill's brow
But those of us who stay behind will say:
"The days are barren now."

—*Jay G. Sigmund.*

An English magistrate has forbidden the wearing in India of the famous Gandhi cap! As this cap has become a kind of symbol of national revolt, this order of the Viceroy's government is perhaps understandable, yet so petty as to appear quite ridiculous. It has significance, however, as indicating the desperate straits to which the *Raj* is being driven these days by the persistent and heroic *Satyagraha* campaign of the Indian people. Much more significant is the order of the government forbidding the use in India of the spinning-wheel, and thus the spinning of native cloth (*Khadda*). This native spinning is the corner-stone of Gandhi's great movement for the liberation of his country. Its success has been amazing. Especially in this crisis have the people turned with one accord to the spinning-wheel for the production of cloth which will make unnecessary the purchase and use of foreign cloth, which is predominantly, of course, the white cotton cloth manufactured on the looms of Manchester and Leeds. Under the impulse of the national revolt, the boycott of British cloth has become so extensive as to threaten the life of the greatest industry in Britain. There is a reason, you see, for the recent rapid increase of unemployment in the English midlands! This blow at British industry, as Gandhi clearly sees, is a blow at British rule in India. Hence is it as a war measure, first of all, that this banning of the spinning-wheel must be interpreted. It is a desperate attempt to strike back at Gandhi's alarmingly successful campaign of non-violent non-cooperation. But it has a significance, also, far deeper than this. What is fundamentally revealed here is England's mission in India—not to serve the Indian people but to exploit them, not to lift them up but to grind them down, not to liberate them politically or socially but to hold them in perpetual economic bondage! The Simon Commission is opposed to Indian independence not because there are serious difficulties in the way of India's surviving without England, but rather because there are much more serious difficulties in the way of England's surviving without India.

Well, the Mooney-Billings case is making progress, such as it is! After fourteen years, it is now admitted by the Supreme Court of California that the two men had nothing to do, in all probability, with preparing and planting the bombs which threw them into prison for life. But it is "fairly inferable" from the past affiliations of the defendants, says the Court, that they knew who prepared and planted the deadly explosive. Not guilty themselves, in other words, they none the less belonged to the radical crowd, and in lieu of the actual murderers may just as well themselves be kept in jail! Lest these statements be regarded as a travesty, we must insert here the actual words of the Court. Speaking of Billings, whose case was under immediate consideration, the Court declares:

> It is fairly inferable from his past and present affiliations that Warren K. Billings was familiar with plots and plans of this group of his most intimate associates, and this being so it was an almost irresistible conclusion that if Warren K. Bill-

*We believe in praising persons while they are living instead of waiting till they are dead. We therefore rejoice that this poem was written for our editorial contributor. Mr. Argow, on the occasion of his departure from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to the May Memorial Church in Syracuse, New York, and gladly share it here with our readers.—Editor.

ings did not himself prepare and plant the deadly time bomb of the Preparedness Day disaster, he and his intimate assistants and co-defendant Mooney knew, and have always, both before and since the occurrence of that tragedy, known who did prepare and plant that bomb and the deadly purpose for which it was prepared and planted.

Now this, we repeat, is progress, again such as it is! Hitherto we have been asked to believe that Mooney and Billings were themselves guilty of the crime. Now we are told we may believe that they were guilty only of knowing the criminals, and thus of bad associations generally. This is especially seen to be progress, such as it is, when we remember that the champions of these two men have contended from the beginning that they were arrested, tried, convicted and are now held in prison not because of anything that they did, but simply and solely because of their labor record. This much achieved in fourteen years, it may well be possible in another fourteen years, or more, to establish that men innocent of a specific crime should not be punished for that crime because of their radical reform activities. Yet is there one part of the Court's decision which alarms us! It is as follows:

Nor has there ever come to public notice during all the years which have elapsed since the commission of the Preparedness Day crime the slightest clue or trace which might serve to point public official inquiry to any persons or group of persons other than these defendants and their assistants, who might reasonably be suspected or charged with the disposition to conceive or commit such a crime.

So this is American justice, is it? It is not enough for a defendant to prove that he is innocent of an offense. In addition, if he would save his life or liberty, he must find the man, or the traces of the man, who is guilty! If this be justice, which one of us is safe?

If the decision in the Mooney-Billings case is disheartening, the opposite is true of the recent unanimous decision of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York in the cases of Professor Douglas Clyde MacIntosh, of Yale, and Miss Averil Bland, Canadian war nurse, who were excluded by lower courts from citizenship because of their pacifist ideals. The Circuit Court has now ordered the applications of these two persons to be granted. Their previous exclusion had raised the challenging question as to whether citizenship in this Republic is necessarily identical with militarism. For natural-born pacifists it stirred the thought that exclusion of aliens from citizenship because of pacifist views might be only the first step toward forfeiture of citizenship of natives for the same reason. And where does religion come in, or conscience, or devotion to ideals, if in our American life these are to be denied the exercise of freedom in such a vital matter as the great question of war and peace? All these queries are now most happily put to rest by the enlightened decision of Judge Manton. Quoting Judge Story, he says:

Story, in his work on the Constitution, Volume 2, Section 1876, says: "The rights of conscience are, indeed, beyond the just reach of any human power. They are given by God and cannot be encroached upon by human authority, without criminal disobedience of the precepts of natural as well as revealed religion." The rights of conscience are inalienable rights which the citizen need not surrender and which the government or society cannot take away.

As regards natives and aliens, Judge Manton lays down a proposition which should be fundamental in every case of this kind:

No more is demanded of an alien who becomes a citizen than a natural born citizen and when an alien becomes a citizen he is accorded all the rights and privileges afforded to a natural born citizen except eligibility to the Presidency.

Nor is religion to be utterly ignored and neglected in this American life of ours. Referring to Miss Bland, Judge Manton says:

This appellant said that she would promise to defend the Constitution as far as her conscience as a Christian would allow. The government, by its Constitution and its acts of Congress, never exacted more from any applicant.

It is to be regretted, perhaps, that the Circuit Court felt it necessary to refer to Mme. Schwimmer, and to approve her exclusion from citizenship as "an absolute atheist." How does this hitch up with the declaration that "no more is demanded of an alien . . . than a natural born citizen"? Surely we have plenty of atheists who are citizens! But, none the less, this decision is epoch-making, and we may rejoice.

What has happened? Lynching has come back again. In recent years this incredibly monstrous crime has been rapidly decreasing from a peak of 173 to last year's total of only 12. But this year the first six months, according to an official statement of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have registered as many deaths from lynching as all last year—another total of 12! According to the records compiled at the Tuskegee Institute, the number of lynchings for this first six months is only 9. In the one case we have an increase of 100 per cent, in the other case of 50 per cent; in both cases, a disgraceful and alarming record. Taking Tuskegee's lower total, we find that, in this first six months of 1930, we have "5 more lynchings than for the first six months of 1929, 4 more than for the first six months of 1928, the same as for the first six months of each of the years 1925, 1926, and 1927 (and again), 4 more than for the first six months of 1924." We do not wonder that the National Association, in its recent convention at Springfield, Massachusetts, cried out against this fiendish reversion of Americans to barbarism, and declared that once again state government in this country has broken down. The Association's statement is worth quoting:

There is little, if any, prospect that the known members of the murderous mobs who dethroned the courts and orderly government in this country and who disgraced us before the civilized world will be prosecuted or punished. State Government has again broken down in the face of this form of murderous anarchy and the conclusion will become inevitable for many law-abiding, decent citizens of both races that it will be

necessary for the Federal Government to step in and preserve trial by jury, a basic constitutional right, for its citizens.

The sending of a brass band to England by the Governor of Texas will not obscure the fact, known to all the civilized world, that Texas this year leads the roster of infamy with four of these murderous outrages, one of them committed in the presence of the Texas Rangers and involving the roasting alive of a human being who was confined in jail awaiting trial.

The states involved in this recrudescence of the lynching mania are Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and, worst of all, Texas. All these are southern states. But the north need not plume itself! With the mob spirit latent in American hearts, who knows when this horror may not cross Mason and Dixon's Line? Meanwhile, north or south, the disgrace belongs to us all. How long, O Lord, how long?

The death of the late Stephen G. Porter, prominent member of the House of Representatives, must not be allowed to pass without reverent notice in these columns. Mr. Porter was one of the few men in this country's public life who was deeply and determinedly interested in the war on illicit traffic in drugs. This traffic vies with the white slave traffic and the liquor traffic in sheer horror and disgust, and Mr. Porter, almost alone among the statesmen of our time, recognized it. As Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, he went as an American delegate to the International Narcotics Conference at Geneva in 1924-1925. In this important assemblage he demanded an international treaty for the strict limitation of the manufacture of narcotics to medical and scientific uses, and for the complete outlawry of commerce in illegal drugs within a period of ten years. These were reasonable and thoroughly statesmanlike proposals, but of course they did not carry. England was in the forefront of opposition, and England's refusal to meet Gandhi in any negotiation including the prohibition of liquor and drugs in India sheds a flood of light upon the reasons for her stubborn opposition at Geneva. The drug traffic must go on, no matter what its toll of misery and death, for how otherwise can England's income from imperial exploitation be safeguarded and maintained? It is fortunate that in Mr. Porter the United States found competent and effective representation of its ideals on a great question of international justice and decency. Who can now take his place is a problem. We know of nobody at the moment. Yet is it inconceivable that in Mr. Porter's death America's war against the drug evil should lapse. Here is a chance for President Hoover to rise to the occasion. Will he meet this opportunity, or let it pass like so many others of the same kind?

There was hardly a ripple in the newspapers when William Barnes died last month. We doubt if most of our readers will remember the man, or identify him as anything more than a name. Yet as the Republican political "boss" of Albany, N. Y., he was a power in his day. At first as the faithful henchman of "Tom" Platt, and later in his own right, he wielded an enormous influence, dictated party nominations, made and unmade governors, and more than once played his part in the national Republican councils. The most notable episode of his life was undoubtedly his feud with Charles E. Hughes when the latter was the governor of New York. This feud was bitter—bitter on both sides—but on Barnes's side was felt and conducted with an intensity which was vitriolic. To a man of Barnes's easy political morals, a man of the Hughes type was simply incomprehensible. Hughes had principles—a thing which was not "done" in New York politics. In his anti-gambling and direct primary fights, Hughes lifted up the banner of ideals, which had not been seen since the days of Roosevelt. All this aggravated the Albany "boss" like a boil on the back of the neck. He became abusive in his opposition to and ridicule of a "Charles the Baptist." In the initial battles, he was defeated; but later, in the national field, he overthrew Hughes's ambition, and returned to Albany ribald and indecent in his arrogant celebration of the end of "Charlie." But now Hughes is the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and Barnes has died in obscurity and dishonor! Time has a way, after all, of vindicating itself. "The arc of the moral universe is long," said Theodore Parker, "but it bends toward justice." The life of "Boss" Barnes is a lesson for him who will read it.

Is Dumb Dora Divine?

The doctrine that human nature is divine is one which religious liberals in America, and elsewhere, have advocated with both fervor and intelligence for more than a century. But the advocacy of this principle by certain groups of liberals, who are at the same time honestly unable to form great churches on this doctrinal basis, makes for much vagueness and confusion in liberal religious thought.

It cannot be denied that there has been a glaring discrepancy between the democratic theory of the most advanced liberal church groups and their more or less unconscious aristocratic emotions. I mean by this that these groups have claimed to be willing to fellowship with all men, without either material or moral distinctions, while they plainly do not actually desire to do so at all.

While brilliantly contending that every human being was divine and equally a child of God, the Ameri-

can liberal has at the same time held himself aloof from the most of "God's children," and, except in his untiring efforts for social reforms, has not been willing to practice the doctrine of universal divinity which he has claimed to believe. Actually he does not believe it, as a close analysis of his feelings toward those he considers morally or spiritually inferior would show, and in order to clear themselves of the charge of insincerity, the religious liberals ought to formulate a doctrine that would square with their deepest desires for a church which, sweeping aside all false distinctions between men, creates a divine society through a rigorous process of selecting men out of the world who will voluntarily take upon themselves "the yoke of love."

The critic of liberalism often naively assumes that the doctrine of the divinity of human nature is valid in every particular, fruitful in all its effects, and entirely defensible as a fundamental point in a liberal credo. Is the doctrine thus invulnerable? Have not the critics often missed the point in assuming that the liberals preached a true idea of human nature, which they failed to practice when it came to the question of fellowship? As I see it we have been struggling between "feelings," which have been essentially true, and a doctrine which has not by any means a thorough vindication in what we know of human nature. But we have failed to see clearly, and so have our critics, that we have been emotionally right (while the world thinks we are emotionally dead) and intellectually wrong (while the world thinks we are right).

What I mean to assert is that the "liberal" doctrine that human nature is universally divine, without any necessity for asking whether this is true in any individual case, is childishly naive and positively degrading in its effect on the trend of American civilization. Human nature, taken in the natural state, is not divine. Neither is it diabolic, as some theologians would say. It is just human, which means that it may be either diabolic or divine, and that only time and the reciprocal relations between the individual and his environment will tell whether he is to tip the moral scales on one side or the other.

The idea of attempting to dignify human life by making roseate assertions about the divinity of human nature is just as great an error in the one direction as the doctrine of total depravity is in the other. Liberals, in rebelling against the latter absurdity, embraced an equally false position in going to the other extreme. The plain fact is that human nature is dualistic. It has divine possibilities, but religious doctrines should be careful not to overlook its possibilities in the other direction.

The individual, faced with the moral issues of life, often chooses the wrong way. To excuse him in that wrong conduct by any doctrinal rose-tinting of his nature leads inevitably to the moral and spiritual flabbiness, the religious romanticism, which has so universally characterized American life during the past fifty years.

The average American—selfish, silly, sentimental—wholly undisciplined in any genuine sense of the word—is yet told that he is divine. He is not told that he might become so; he is emphatically informed that he is already, the theory being, we suppose, that this bold doctrinal assumption will establish in him self-confidence, destroy any such old-fashioned feeling as a sense of sin, and make it entirely possible and easy for him to "put over" his personality (which really doesn't exist, but no matter about that).

Liberals have flattered the mob with this doctrine until the distinction between the church and the world has almost disappeared in this country. Any theory of human nature which does not sharply distinguish between George F. Babbitt and Jesus of Nazareth is contrary to the facts and degrading in its effects on society. To say to Babbitt, "You are divine as Jesus was divine, a son of God as He was a son of God" puts our spiritual relationships on a level with our physical existence and leaves no place for a doctrine of the church as a society of individuals distinguished from the world. As soon as this distinction is lost sight of, which is just what has happened, for example, in the theology of the religious humanists, the church has not a leg to stand upon.

Liberalism will make great strides forward when it comes to some kind of decent and honorable doctrinal statement of its inescapable leanings toward an aristocracy of the spirit. We need a modern doctrine of election which does not close the gates of divinity on anyone, yet insists on a straight and narrow path to the delectable mountains. We need preaching that is fraught with love and sympathy for all mankind, yet points out with prophetic seriousness how far short the individual and society are falling from the divine.

Jesus was spiritually aristocratic, as every worthy teacher has been, and religion, if it is ever to elevate our lives, must not flatter the mob with false doctrines that offer them a divinity they have never earned. Liberal religion has the glorious mission before it of refusing to capitulate to American mediocrity, buttressed by untold wealth and unnumbered Dumb Doras, or to American cynicism, which sneers at the things of the spirit, and of creating in this world a genuine church for the cure of men's souls, for the development of character through disciplines clearly stated and faithfully followed, and for the support and encouragement of all those who, without morbidity, recognize the reality of the eternal warfare between the flesh and the spirit.

To accomplish this liberalism must draw a clear

distinction between the church and the world, between human nature and divine nature, between good and evil. We shall always be liable to error in making these distinctions, but without them religion loses its mission in the world.

RAYMOND H. PALMER.

Parables of War and Peace

XV

Trifling

I

Special Cable to the New York TIMES

Paris, September 10, 1917.—American forces attacked the enemy this morning at LaDun, and captured three lines of German trenches on a front of two hundred yards. The enemy had fifty killed, and one hundred and ten wounded or captured. Our loss was trifling.

II

Article in the Scarboro WEEKLY ITEM

The sympathy of relatives and friends is being extended to Mrs. William Brown, of 72 South Main Street, on the death in France of her son, Thomas. News came from the War Department last Thursday that he had been killed in an engagement with the enemy at LaDun on September 10.

Thomas Brown was twenty-three years of age, and was the only son of Mrs. Brown, who has been a widow for many years. After graduating from the grammar school, he went to work at Wilkins' Hardware Store in Bangor, hoping to earn money for his college course at Bates, but after a few months he came home to run the farm and take care of his mother, who had never recovered from a severe attack of pneumonia. Thomas's devotion to his mother was familiar to all of our townspeople, and makes his death at this time particularly regrettable. Memorial services will be held at the First Congregational Church as soon as Mrs. Brown is able to attend.

III

Advertisement in the Scarboro WEEKLY ITEM

Died On Friday, September 25, Mrs. William Brown, in the 53rd year of her age. Funeral services, and memorial services for her late son, Thomas, at the First Congregational Church, on Sunday, at 3 o'clock. All are invited.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Fascination of Mountains

II.

There is an interesting connection between mountains and human liberty. Mountain lands seem always to have been pre-eminently the home of freedom. We know how true this is of ancient Greece. Grecian democracy had its birth in the mountains of Attica, Thrace and Peloponnesus, and it maintained its life longest there. Pass over to the mountainland of Palestine and there we find that almost every mountain and hill has been reddened with blood shed in behalf of liberty.

In the modern world the strongholds of freedom have been, in nearly all cases, mountainous countries, like Switzerland, Scotland and New England. The one exception, the one modern land in which liberty has wrought some of its noblest achievements, and yet which has no mountains, is Holland. Here a battle for freedom as long and heroic as the world ever saw was fought by a people living in a land absolutely flat. But even here the exception is hardly an exception. For in the case of Holland the mighty, ever-encroaching and ever-devouring waves and tides of the sea were to her as mountains, calling out the same self-reliant and heroic qualities in her people which are nourished in other lands by mountain scenes and mountain life.

The close connection between freedom and mountains in Switzerland inspires one of the finest passages in Schiller's Drama of "William Tell," where Tell and his little boy Walter thus converse:

Walter: And are there countries with no mountains?

Tell: Yes: if we travel downwards from our heights,
And keep descending in the rivers' courses,
We reach a wide and level country, where
Our mountain torrents brawl and foam no more,
And fair, large rivers glide serenely on.
All quarters of the heaven may there be scanned
Without impediment. The corn grows there
In broad and lovely fields, and all the land
Is fair as any garden to the view.

Walter: But, father, tell me, wherefore haste we not
Away to this delightful land, instead
Of toiling here, and struggling as we do?

Tell: The land is fair and bountiful as heaven;
But they who till it never may enjoy
The fruits of what they sow.

Walter: Live they not free,
As you do, on the land their fathers left them?

Tell: The fields are all the bishop's or the king's.

Walter: But they may freely hunt among the woods?

Tell: The game is all the monarch's—bird and beast.

Walter: But they, at least, may surely fish the streams?

Tell: Stream, lake, and sea, all to the king belong.

Walter: Who is this king, of whom they're so afraid?

Tell: He is the man who fosters and protects them.

Walter: Have they not courage to protect themselves?

Tell: The neighbor there dare not his neighbor trust.

Walter: I should want breathing-room in such a land:
I'd rather dwell beneath the avalanches.

Tell: 'Tis better, child, to have these glacier peaks
Behind one's back than evil-minded men!

The reasons why liberty has so often found her home in the mountains are not far to seek. They seem to be two: The first is, when tyrants with great armies sweep through lands, it is easy to subdue the valleys, for there armies can readily make their way, and there they can find plenty of sustenance. But into the mountains, armies of conquest and tyranny find it hard to penetrate, and when they attempt it they are easily beaten back.

The second reason is still more important. The hardy, self-denying and independent life of the mountains begets in the people an independent, daring spirit, which hates tyrants, refuses to wear their yoke, and cannot rest until it secures for itself political, intellectual and in the end religious freedom.

And so, for many centuries to come, until man shall cease to want to tyrannize over his brother, we may think of mountains as remaining God's sentinels and protectors of human liberty.

Probably no other object in nature, unless it may be the ocean or the night sky, is calculated to stir the human soul with such emotions of wonder, sublimity, awe and aspiration as the mountains. To many a man his first visit to noble mountain scenery, such as one finds in the Alps or the Rocky Mountains or the Sierras, or even the White Mountains of New Hampshire, forms a distinct epoch in his spiritual life; indeed often the mountain experiences of a single day produce impressions so vivid and so profound that they are carried through all one's years.

Let me sketch a single such experience in my own life. I have spoken of the Himalayas. The experience I have in mind is connected with that greatest of mountain chains. I was at Darjeeling, a mountain city built on the first or lower Himalayan range, but in full sight of the second or main range where are most of the great peaks. One memorable day I spent on an elevation above the city, where the finest views could be obtained. Around me stretched a vast ocean of mountain summits and mountain valleys as far as the eye could reach, the like of which could be seen nowhere else. One hundred and twenty miles away arose the shining head of Mount Everest, the loftiest mountain in the world. Nearer, at distances of thirty, forty, and fifty miles, towered Mount Kinchinjunga and half a dozen other stupendous peaks hardly inferior to Everest himself.

Imagine mountains lifting themselves into the heavens to an elevation of five and a half miles. Think of five Mount Washingtons piled one above another, or of the Matterhorn perched on the shoulders of Mount Blanc. Think of valleys so deep and vast that into them the whole range of the Oberland Alps might be dropped down and lost out of sight. Then you will get some idea of the altitudes and magnitudes of these Himalayan giants of the world. But even yet you do not grasp their full beauty and grandeur. For this you must crown their rugged and awful summits with ice and snow, drape their sky-piercing shoulders with mantles of ever-changing mists and clouds, and throw over them the splendors and glooms of such lights and shadows as only lofty mountains know; then you have the Himalayas as I was permitted to see them on that great day from my eyrie above Darjeeling.

Is there any other situation that so expands the soul as does moving among mountains, and especially standing on a mountain top? Is there any other that makes the earth seem so small or the heavens so illimitable? Is there any other that makes God and eternal things seem so real? If the mountain top be not a mount of vision, a place for a man to speak with God, as Moses on Sinai, then surely the earth contains no such. We read that when Moses came down from the mount his face shone. Should not one's face shine who returns from an experience like this?

I think the soul that can be trivial amid the grandeur of great mountain scenery must be a very small soul. We read that Jesus often went into the mountains to pray. How could he help it? For where else is prayer so inevitable? Where else are there solitudes so perfect as in mountains? Mountain prayers need not be spoken; oftenest they are not, as the soul's deepest experiences are apt to be silent. But surely he misses the best that mountains have to give who does not find himself moved again and again, by their mysterious silences and their mighty grandeurs, to communion with that Invisible Spirit whose home is the mountains, whose home is the stars, whose home is the soul of man,—that Infinite and Eternal Spirit from whom come mountains and stars and soul of man.

Go to the mountains when you may. But do not go to be your shallowest self. Go to be your deeper self, your more earnest self, your true self. Go to think; go to feel; go to get acquainted with your family or your friends who are with you as you can only get acquainted with any by quiet, by thought, by sincerity, by letting the best and deepest that is in you find expression, and by drawing out what is deepest and sincerest in them. Go to get acquainted with yourself, — something which is not easy to do in the bustle and hurry of the crowded lives which most of us live in these days.

Go to get close to nature. Go to fall in love with nature, and like a true lover carry your love warm in your breast till the last day of your life. Go to find rest, but not rest of body merely, or mainly. Your mind needs rest more than your body. Nor is it simply intellectual rest that you need. It is rest of spirit. Go to the mountains for peace. Get so near to nature, to yourself, to God, that the jars and discords shall go out of your life, and the "peace which passeth understanding" shall enter your soul, there to abide.

In the world there are many kinds of mountains. If there are mountains of earth and rocks—of material substances—no less are there mountains of the soul. There are such things as mountain principles, mountain ideas, mountain thoughts,—thoughts and principles, I mean, which are so great that they lift themselves up in grandeur above the ordinary thoughts of men, as great peaks, and serve as landmarks and beacons in the intellectual and moral history of the centuries. Such are the great conceptions of human freedom, religious toleration, the right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the equality of all men before the law, government as deriving its just power from the consent of the governed, the Golden Rule, the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of man. How

these lofty conceptions, these mountain thoughts of mankind, have strengthened, and ennobled, and lifted up the whole race!

There are mountain men,—I mean men who tower above their fellows in genius, insight, wisdom, intellectual and moral power. As rivers come down from the mountains to water and fertilize the valleys, so from these men flow down streams of influence that nourish the life of mankind. The advance of the race is due to its lofty souls. Where would have been the world's political progress but for its Miltons, its Cromwells, its Washingtons? Where its intellectual progress but for its Aristotles, its Galileos, its Darwins? Where its religious progress but for such tall souls as the old Hebrew prophet, Jesus, Plato, Epictetus, Luther, Wesley, Channing? God makes no other gift to the world that is of such value as its mountain men.

There are mountain books. I do not mean famous books merely, but books of moral power, books that lift the nations up to nobler life. Communion with mountain scenery will teach you to love mountain books.

We ought all to be mountain climbers, in body and mind. Why should we be content to dwell in the low valleys when the heights may be ours? By climbing we may reach sunlight and pure air, and leave the fogs and miasmas behind. By climbing we may attain to broader prospects and a larger world. By climbing we may gain bodily vigor and soul vigor.

I saw the mountains stand
Silent, wonderful and grand,
Looking out across the land
When the golden light was falling
On distant dome and spire;
And I heard a low voice calling,
Come up higher; come up higher;
From the Lowland and the mire,
From the mist of earth desire,
From the vain pursuit of pelf,
From the attitude of self;
Come up higher; come up higher.

The mountains which we are challenged to climb are the mountains of knowledge, of self-discipline, of moral attainment, of achievement in whatever tasks are ours.

I like to think of all human life under the figure of a journey up a mountain, and the end of life as the reaching of the mountain top. I know this is not the common way of thinking. The ordinary conception of life is that of an ascent until middle age or a little beyond, and then a descent to old age and the grave. Of course, this conception would be true if man were only a physical being,—if his body were all. But man is more than a body. Why should there be a decline in his intellect? And especially in his moral and spiritual nature,—his hope, his faith, his love, those soul-powers that relate him to the Divine and the Eternal?

We sometimes speak of death as passing through "a valley and a shadow." I like better to think of it as the culmination of the earthly life; as reaching life's summit—an illuminated mountain top, from which to pass on to a Great Splendid Beyond.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

(Concluded)

The University Voice on War

President Lowell of Harvard in his emphasis in his recent baccalaureate address on "lack of wisdom" as perhaps the most salient defect of our day, puts his finger on a sore spot. The majority of our people do not want intemperance, nor crime, nor war. They want to get rid of them, but they do not know how; and in their action they are swayed by their partisanship and their passion. This is glaringly evident in the current discussion of Prohibition; and President Lowell considered the present "chaotic condition" in this matter. He also took up the so-called "crime wave," the mournful revelations of lawlessness and the attitude of the public to this problem. He then concentrated his attention upon the "lack of wisdom" in the nations in dealing with the war system. The folly and futility of war are now recognized by all sane and sensible men, and they have been brought home to us with startling new emphasis by the awful calamity of the World War, the most disastrous war in human history nineteen centuries after Christ. The united wisdom of the world should have been sufficient to prevent it, and should be able to ensure the world against a recurrence; but the wisdom of the world was not united and was not brought efficiently to bear. "The apologists for each belligerent explain that their side was not responsible and did not want it; and probably a majority of the people in every country engaged did not desire the war. Certainly a very large majority everywhere today lament the conditions that made it unavoidable. Yet there was not wisdom enough in the world to prevent it." President Lowell's wholesome moral was that the nations ought to apply their hearts unto wisdom and apply more definitely and unitedly the wisdom which they have. "Wars need not occur if there were wisdom enough to direct the course of human conduct."

By impressive coincidence, this execration of war was the chief burden of President Angell's baccalaureate address at Yale at the same moment. He approached the subject from a different angle, but put the issue sharply up to the people of the United States.

> Of all the nations of the earth (he said) we are the most powerful and have least at stake in any sheer question of armaments. On us above all others, therefore it rests to take generous and liberal attitudes, disregarding the pettifogging efforts to match with other nations inch for inch on the length of our guns and pound for pound on the tonnage of our vessels. To see our rulers haggling huckster-wise over such issues fills one with a sense of national shame.

He sharply exposed the grotesque futility of war as a means for the just settlement of international issues and its utterly irrational wastage of life and treasure. "The time is rapidly approaching," he added, "when even the fire-eating politician must hesitate to advocate armed struggle. With the Peace Pact, the League of Nations, and the International Court, from two of which our timid nationalists shy, war should be made humanly impossible." But this would not be unless the rising generation of scholars so decree!

On April 30th of this year, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President both of Columbia University and the

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at the time in Berlin, was invited to address the Reichstag. It were to be wished that this pregnant and powerful address might be read not only by every young American scholar, but by every serious American citizen. I quote a single passage.

The experience of the United States of America has a lesson to teach to Europe. The stupendous economic development of the United States and the vast increase of its national wealth have been due to causes that may quickly be studied. First is the fact that by the terms of the Constitution of the United States itself, free and unrestricted trade prevails throughout the territory which the Constitution governs. It is territory so varied in climate, in soil and in product that it is a vast empire in itself. Had it been possible for the states of the American Union to erect barriers against trade each with its neighbor, the people of the United States would today have been economically backward and relatively impoverished. That huge domestic trade, untaxed and untrammeled, is the foundation of American prosperity. The protective tariff policy, which owes its origin to the teachings of Alexander Hamilton, was never intended to destroy or unduly hamper international trade. The true tariff for protection is in no sense a tariff for prohibition; it is not a tariff to destroy international trade or to make impossible the settlement of international balances by shipment of goods. To attempt to erect a tariff wall about the United States would be to attack the policy of protection in its citadel and to substitute for it a policy of commercial prohibition, which must do great damage to the people of the United States themselves.

What of Europe? Has not the time come when the next long step forward in promoting national satisfaction and international comfort is the building of an economic United States of Europe, which shall do for these teeming and highly civilized peoples what has already been done on the other side of the Atlantic? Victor Hugo foresaw such a happening so long ago as 1848. The deeply lamented Dr. Streseman understood the proposal and was ready to be a leader in marching toward the new goal. We have a Briand in France and others working in the same spirit. It can not be long before this splendid idea will find its way to shape the policies of governments.

But what, we are asked, is to become of all these splendid institutions if some nation signatory to the Pact of Paris breaks its pledged word and begins hostilities against its neighbor. What then is to punish the offender and protect those against whom the offense is committed? The answer is quick and simple—public opinion—than which nothing is more powerful when it rises to heights of condemnation. The Pact of Paris ushers in a new mode of thought. It is by mere inertia that governments and admirals and generals are still thinking in terms of the discarded past. Some ask for parity among the world's navies. The term is meaningless, for if that parity were agreed to on paper today and launched in the water tomorrow, it would be destroyed the next day by some new discovery in a chemical laboratory or some new triumph of navigation through the air. When men now talk of national security, it means that they are still thinking in terms of war. Learn to think in terms of the Pact of Paris, and national security is on the same plane with municipal security or personal security. There are two ways in which any great question which involves national pride and interest may be approached. One is in a spirit of confidence and good feeling and hope; the other is in a spirit of suspicion and jealousy and fear. The contest for the government of the world and for the heart of mankind is between these.

Thus at the same moment, by undesigned and eloquent coincidence, the heads of our three great Eastern universities sound the same note of world peace, the abandonment of the war system, and the rational coordination of intelligent human endeavor. From the far shore of the Pacific, where the westward course of the empire of thought and learning has reached its westernmost point on the continent, comes the antiphonal "Amen." If there be one university on the Pacific which has steadily stirred our sympathy and hope, it is Stanford University. If ever there was an institution peculiarly the lengthened shadow of one man, Stanford University is the projection of David Starr Jordan. If there be one American scholar who more than any other has during his whole lifetime exposed the waste and wickedness of war, and its opposition to every great principle of biology, politics, morality and religion, it is this great university president. The joy and strong compensation of his evening is that he sees the sky aglow and hears a thousand voices saying so strongly now what he said so early and has said so long.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

Manchuria Serves Notice on Japan

With the construction of a harbor at Hulutao the Chinese are hoping to have, at last, an important anchorage of their own in Manchuria. Unwilling longer to watch more than half the trade of her Three Eastern Provinces pass through the Japanese-owned port of Dairen an attempt to seriously challenge Japan's commercial ascendency in the Liaotung Peninsula is now to be launched. It is intended that the new port shall become the terminus for a comprehensive Chinese railway system in Manchuria which in time may hope to successfully wrest from Japan the dominant position which her ownership of the South Manchurian Railway has brought her. Hulutao, according to dispatches from Shanghai, is to be developed for the Chinese by the Netherlands Harbor Construction Company. The work is to cost $6,400,000 and is to be completed by October 15, 1935. Payments are to be made monthly from the profits on the Peiping-Mukden Railway.

The development of Hulutao has been contemplated for more than twenty years. It was in 1908 that Chao Erh-hsun, Viceroy of Manchuria, engaged W. R. Hughes, a British engineer, to make a study of the situation. After a favorable report a twelve-mile branch railroad was built from Lienshan on the Peiping-Mukden line to the harbor site. The construction of a concrete breakwater was begun. Then came the 1911 Revolution to put a stop to the Viceroy's project. Since that time several different Chinese officials have interested themselves in Hulutao's possibilities, but either civil war or lack of funds has proven an effectual deterrent to action. The financial problem has been especially perplexing for with the growth of Chinese national self-consciousness there has been an increasing unwillingness to seek foreign loans which might increase alien control in China. It is significant that the current agreement with the Dutch engineering firm stipulates that payments shall be made as the work progresses and that at no time during the life of the agreement shall the Company function as creditor.

When the Chinese began, two decades ago, to appreciate the need for an adequate port they found that all the natural harbors had already been spoken for. Russia had appropriated Vladivostok as well as all the seacoast to the east of the Ussuri River. The rest of Eastern Manchuria was shut off from the sea by Korea, and the only real harbor in Southern Manchuria had fallen to Japan when Dairen was deeded to her by

Russia after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. China thus found that if she desired a satisfactory harbor it must be built by human ingenuity. Hulutao appears to be the best site available and when developed should prove a valuable possession for it will be well situated in point of water depth, wind direction, and in respect to the hinterland which it will serve. Like Dairen and unlike Vladivostok it should be ice-free in the winter. It will lie about sixty miles closer to Mukden than does Dairen, and will be fairly central as between Mukden and Tientsin. Although it can never hope to match Dairen in its harbor facilities it is estimated that when completed Hulutao will readily handle three million tons annually. Engineering experts state that the harbor will offer accommodation at one time to twelve steamers of 120 feet and six of 90 feet in length. This capacity should afford all that is necessary for some years to come.

The vital significance of the announcement that Hulutao is to be developed without delay is not to be found however in a study of its possibilities as a harbor, but rather in seeking to understand the projected plans which Manchurian Warlord Chang Hsueh-liang and his associates are making for a comprehensive Manchurian railway system in connection with it. The Japanese, at least, are not blind to the possible implications entailed in the Chinese railway plans and have been making repeated protests against at least two of the new railroads already in operation. The roads from Tahushan to Tungliao and from Mukden to Kirin via Hailungcheng, which the Chinese have built themselves with their own funds, are declared by the Japanese to be illegally undertaken. It is maintained that in a secret protocol attached to the Sino-Japanese treaty of December 22, 1905, China agreed that no new railroads should be constructed which would parallel the South Manchurian Railway or prejudice its interests. It was the supposed existence of this secret agreement which balked a British syndicate from constructing such a parallel railroad for the Manchurian Viceroy Hsu Shih-chang in 1907. Japan has never yet felt it necessary to produce the signed protocol. An eminent Chinese statesman, Mr. Tang Shao-yi, former governor of Fengtien Province and one of the Chinese secretaries during the 1905 negotiations, has since stated that no such Chinese concession was ever made. The Chinese furthermore insist that even had such an agreement been entered upon the new Chinese lines lie so far away from the Japanese road, and traverse so highly developed a region, that they cannot be rightly considered to prejudice the interests of the Japanese railway. The upshot of it is at present that Japan continues to protest the new lines and China continues to develop and operate them.

As a start toward the restoration of Chinese supremacy in Manchuria the capital cities of the three provinces, Fengtien, Kirin, and Hailungkiang, are being linked by rail with each other and with the Chinese national railway system which now connects Mudken with Peiping, Hankow, Nanking, and Shanghai. With this scheme already put into effect the Chinese will no longer need ask permission of the foreigner when they would move such cargo as troops and war supplies to the strategic points in Manchuria. It is reported that the newly constructed line between Mukden, capital of Fengtien, and Kirin, capital of Kirin Province, is now operating. It has also been reported that through service has been established between Mukden and Tsitsihar, capital of Hailungkiang. On this route trains leave Mukden over the Peiping-Mukden line, transfer to the Tahushan-Tungliao line, and proceed the remainder of the way over roads financed and constructed for the Chinese by the South Manchuria Railway Company.

Of the 3,000 miles of railway in Manchuria China owns about half so that the construction of a Chinese terminal port is quite naturally looked upon with misgivings by China's rivals for Manchurian trade. The Chinese authorities are, furthermore, planning a number of additional roads; Mukden announces a total of 1,000 miles of new construction projected. A line is to be built from Tsitsihar to Heiho on the Amur River thus bringing into actual existence the old Chinchow-Aigun project of which Willard Straight, as representative of American financial interests, dreamed more than twenty years past. Other likely developments of the system include lines between Kirin and Harbin, between Harbin and Mergen, between Tungliao and Harbin, between Tungliao and Jehol, and between Taonan and Solun. A road eastward from Kirin to the Korean border which the Japanese have been constructing for China is completed except for a stretch of sixty miles west of the border. The tracks of this last section may not be laid for some time, for although the railroad will be nominally Chinese-owned, the Chinese officials and citizenry fear the resultant increased power which will accrue to Japan when there exists a Japanese-dominated railway connection between the northern sections of the South Manchurian and the Korean railway systems.

To some Americans whose present idea of a railway problem is to wonder where the Pullman porter gets all the dust that he puts in his whisk broom, or to wish that during all this talk of railway mergers some magnate would get hot over the notion of merging a couple of Pullman berths, dispatches telling of railway rivalries in Manchuria may seem rather meaningless. And as a matter of fact there is going to be no war in Manchuria about railroads or anything else for some time to come. Japan is in such an impregnable a position at present that her intention to maintain peace and order in Manchuria will not soon be thwarted. The construction of Hulutao, however, is one of the indications that commercial rivalry is to become more intense. Today, as a result of the Sino-Russian protocol of last December, Soviet Russia's position in the Chinese Eastern Railway is stronger than at any time in the past. Japan holding the predominant place in Southern Manchuria by means of her ownership of the splendid South Manchurian Railway, a road which has been the chief factor in providing for the region's remarkable development, apparently plans to dig in deeper than ever. And now China, in serving notice that she intends if possible to work out the most masterful communications system of all throws her hat into the ring. For the time being the battle will be fought chiefly by locomotives lugging freight cars over steel rails to the sea. During the decade ahead, a wiser and more humanitarian statesmanship may develop which, functioning in an atmosphere of saner and less self-centered nationalism, can confine the conflict within these commercial limits. At all events the building of a harbor at Hulutao implies that Manchurian developments will continue to occasionally win the front page.

HARRY L. KINGMAN.

The Arrest of Mme. Naidu

[Editor's Note: The policy of the British government in India has been to arrest and imprison one by one the leaders of the *Satyagrahi*. UNITY has published accounts, taken from Indian sources, of the arrests of Gandhi and Sjt. Abbas Tyebji, and in the June 23rd issue promised to publish an account of the arrest of Mme. Naidu "as soon as received from India." This has now come in an issue of the Bombay *Chronicle*, and is printed herewith as of special interest to those who saw and heard this distinguished woman on her recent visit to America. It should be explained that the *Satyagrahis* are the "non-resistant" followers of Gandhi, *Satyagraha* meaning "non-resistance," or, in Gandhi's better phrase, "non-violent resistance"].

On Tuesday morning I found about 150 volunteers in the camp, while a batch had already left for the salt depot. Having heard of a reported change in the method of the Satyagraha Campaign, I made my way to "Senapati House" where Mrs. Naidu had her headquarters. She was all smiles, though she had not yet recovered from the swelling in her leg. Free from the bustle of the Taj, she looked the queen of the mango grove and anxiously inquired of me about the latest news from Bombay. Even in her pre-occupations when plans were being forged about the future of the campaign, her usual good humor had not left her. Referring to a crowd of lady visitors who had brought mangoes with them, she said that the tree in her camp was the only tree without mangoes. I remarked that the mango tree in her camp was going to make history. She smilingly retorted that the only history it had made, up to that time, was that it bore no fruit.

I met the members of the "'War Council," and I learned that a decision to intensify the Campaign had been reached. The plan was to mobilize the full force of Satyagrahis and launch mass action on the salt depots. The volunteers showed determination not to deviate an inch from the principle of non-violence. A press photographer who requested the leaders for a pose was curtly told to spare his films for the day and he would have plenty to snap the next morning. Late on Tuesday evening, Mrs. Naidu sent a special messenger to Bombay calling for a big contingent to reach Dharasana on Thursday morning.

Afterwards there was a prolonged meeting of the "War Council." It was finally decided that Imam Sahib should assume the field command, along with other Captains; while Mrs. Naidu should stay at the base of operations from where she could not be spared.

Maniben Patel, the daughter of Sirdarr Vallabhbhai, arrived on Tuesday night. Mrs. Gandhi also was expected. It transpired, however, that she had left for Yeravd as she had received permission to see Mahatmaji.

From about 6 o'clock on Tuesday evening, the sky was rent with cries of "Jais" from squads of volunteers who continued to pour in from different parts of Gujarat. Carrying electric torchlight, batches followed one another, singing national songs and carrying national flags. They practically filled the parade ground of the camp. On account of the increased strength the camp kitchen was unable to cope with the work, and rations consisting of bread, plantains, sweet lemons, grapes and sugar candy were distributed overnight. Special care was taken to equip volunteers with water-bags after which they retired for rest.

In the morning, the volunteers assembled for prayer which commenced with Ram Kirtan and the Vaishnava song, the favorite song of Mahatmaji. Then Mr. Narhari Parekh issued instruction to the volunteers. Then Mrs. Naidu made a short speech in Hindustani ordering them to behave like real soldiers of freedom under the command of Imam Saheb. She said that the spirit of the imprisoned Mahatma would guide them. Then after a short address from Imam Saheb, marching orders were given. Imam Saheb was the leader and he was followed by Messrs. Parekh and Manilal Gandhi.

The volunteers marched in a row through the narrow path, and when they neared the field, they split themselves into different parties and made towards the Salt Depot. Some of the volunteers carried ropes with them. Seeing the volunteers at the end of the field, the police van made hot haste and just managed to reach the precincts of the central depot, when the volunteers were making a bold dash towards it. The police apprehended a rush and were determined to keep the volunteers at a long distance. They were determined not to allow them even near the fences, where they were allowed the previous day. The policemen got down from the van with drawn-out lathis and began to use them freely to stop the march of the volunteers towards the fence. First blood was drawn within a minute and within half an hour more than 50 volunteers fell down and had to be removed. Attempts to throw the rope at the barbed wire fence were repulsed. The volunteers withstood the lathi charge with determination and many of them had to be carried away in an unconscious condition. Seeing heavy casualties in the front row, the volunteers began to concentrate on other sides, and here again they were checked by the free use of lathis. In some places, the volunteers when they tried to gain a few paces had to bear the brunt heavily. In one place, within a couple of minutes, three Satyagrahi who stood the lathi charge fell down like cut trees. Sjt. Manilal Gandhi received lathi blows, while Mr. Narhari Parekh had wounds in many places and was profusely bleeding. Mrs. Naidu came in and was attending to the wounded who were given first-aid at the end of the field. It was then that news was brought, that Imam Saheb and Messrs. Pyari Lal and Manilal Gandhi were arrested. Shortly afterwards, Mrs. Naidu was also arrested. This battle between the police and Satyagrahis was carried on for over an hour with heavy casualties. After the arrest of the leaders, the Satyagrahis carried on the struggle against heavy odds and finally sat down behind the police cordon, practising Satyagraha as on previous days. The prisoners in the temporary prison erected near the Custom House who witnessed the scenes from the other end of the field watched the campaign with studied coolness without showing any signs of restlessness.

There is something dramatic in the arrest of Mrs. Naidu. About half an hour after the volunteers had left Untadi camp, I saw her at the end of the field conversing with a European gentleman whom I thought

to be an official. Within ten minutes of her being on the field she saw wounded men brought one after another on stretchers. She spoke a few words of sympathy and encouragement to the wounded who were temporarily laid at the end of the field. "This is after all what we expected and we had our deserts" said one of the wounded volunteers. When she heard of the arrests of Imam Saheb, and Mr. Manilal and about the lathi blows delivered to Mr. Manilal Gandhi and Narhari Parekh, she called me and gave me details of the same. It was then that I was told that the gentleman in European dress was Mr. Webb Miller of the "United Press of America" who had specially come down to give first-hand reports of the campaign. At this time, the volunteers in the front who were heavily dealt with by the police made a move towards the sides of the salt depot. The idea was evidently to concentrate on the sides of the depot and march. Apprehending some confusion, she immediately crossed the field and moved a few yards towards a salt ditch which is about 60 yards distant from the depot. While she was there Mr. H. P. Antia, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, came along and told her that he wanted to speak to her. Hardly had she proceeded a few paces, when he announced that she was under arrest. She looked cheerful and waved her hand as she was marched to tiled building located in the midst of the center salt depot. The section under which she was arrested is not yet known. Mr. Webb Miller tried twice to interview her in the lockup but failed. Subsequently Mr. V. J. Patel tried to interview her, but permission was not granted.

A later dispatch in the *Chronicle* stated that Mme. Naidu had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to nine months simple imprisonment. Her farewell message was—

Whatever happens, strictly adhere to the law of non-violence. Don't budge an inch from the place you have taken.

Trumpets on New Horizons

In Russian Pantomime

" . . . the Soviet women are burning their veils."
Soviet women are we—we are burning
Traditions, smelling of shroud, and the night;
Challenging old, to new gods turning,
Crying to Upper Room, "Give—of your Light!"

Bastions of feudals—a Christless begetting—
We storm with the fury of flame-fed spine;
The needs of our souls, to trumpeted whetting,
Lash us with scorpion-whips into line.

Soviet women. . . . we are veining with scarlet
Bodies grown soft from a full task ceased;
Till to drums of the spirit shall enter—not varlet,
But long-waited Guest . . . into Upper Room feast.

HALA JEAN HAMMOND

Noble Recovery

There's something in her gentle quietude
That will outlast the storm and stress together,
That will preserve the beautiful and good
In any welter of the wind and weather,
This birch will bend, not break; this light return;
This wound will heal; it is restored already,
This burnished-feathered breast again will burn
With beauty over heart-beats that are steady.

The Master of the sunset and the shell,
The artist's fingers and the blue-bird wing,
Has always wrought His masterpieces well;
They will endure; hurt hearts will sweeter sing,
This soul will reascend the height, will rise
Recovering the trail, and find the skies.

ISABEL FISHE CONANT.

Triumphant Task

Success will answer any fearless gesture
The spirit makes; will recognize as royal
The courage that is kingly, the investure
Eternal, unto which all are loyal.
Therefore, be never craven, heart of gold,
Demand your throne, intolerant of lack,
As surely as the snail his humble fold,
Or as the orient sun, the zodiac.

Fulfil with tenure your authentic station,
Your chair of being, your appointed range;
Within your own congenial constellation
Keep your sidereal angle without change,
As ordered as the tempo of the tides,
The crest of space whereon Orion rides.

ISABEL FISHE CONANT.

The Self-Elected

How many men take pride in what they lack
And flaunt their limitations like a crown! . . .
Those gray-clad nobles of the beaten track
Who pass trail-blazers with a sneering frown!

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

The Study Table

The Mother of Birth Control

One of the most remarkable women in the world today, and perhaps in the history of the world, is Mrs. Margaret Sanger. It is a scalding blot of shame on our civilization that this woman, for her efforts to help her fellow women, should have been insulted, vilified, and imprisoned on "Welfare" island. We are tempted to inquire exactly whose "welfare" was kept in mind by such an outrage. As in all previous history, the ignorance and obsessions of self-approving phariseeism is operating here and now to prevent the bringing to mankind of the true and righteous salvation of science, knowledge and truth.

Mrs. Sanger is one of the finest, wisest, most beautiful women we have ever met. In her public talks she speaks gently and calmly, but with great earnestness and conviction. Her eloquence is not the fiery kind, irresponsible and dogmatic, but soft-spoken, informed with her broad experience, and imbued with wisdom from her many-sided observation of the needless suffering and torture of thousands of women, and the privations of thousands of children.

For many months in her magazine, the *Birth Control Review,* Mrs. Sanger printed letters from poor women, most of them already mothers of several children, showing the nearly helpless and hopeless lot of these

women. Now these evidences of the tragedy of motherhood have been selected, classified, and representative letters of the various types printed all together in Mrs. Sanger's wonderful book, "Motherhood in Bondage."* This book will not make a fortune for its author, but it should win her undying fame, and the thanks of all mankind.

A quarter of a million letters have been written to Mrs. Sanger, asking for help and information, telling conditions which make it unwise or impossible for the writers to have more children, or to have babies so frequently.

Each letter (writes Mrs. Sanger) contains the record of a woman caught in the toils of unwilling maternity, enslaved not only by the great imperative instincts of human nature—hunger and sex—but hopelessly enmeshed in this trap by poverty, heredity, ignorance, the domination or the indifference of the husband, the timid passivity of the family physician, and the ever-increasing complications of successive pregnancies.

Some politicians have recently been making critical remarks about the "backward" states, mostly west of the Mississippi River. It should now be said, rather it should be shouted, that these letters from slave mothers do not all come from these backward states. In fact they come from all the states of the Union, as well as from Canada and the West Indies, but *most numerously from the proud centers of metropolitan influence,* Pennsylvania, Illinois, and New York.

Eighty percent of the writers of these letters are judged to be very poor; very few are well-to-do. Most of the letters are from women, but some come from men, asking help for their wives, and thus showing that they realize that their own freedom and happiness is involved in the possibility of emancipating their wives from the burden of too many children.

The letters come from the city and from the country. "Whatever the disadvantages suffered by the poor city mother," states the author, "these records indicate that they are as nothing as compared with those of the lonely farm slaves condemned to unwilling pregnancies, brutally bestial lords and masters, and an almost total deprivation of the ordinary comforts of life."

*Motherhood in Bondage, by Margaret Sanger. Published by Brentano's, New York.

Brutality! Ignorance! Slavery! Can it be possible that such conditions exist in our beautiful land, with its heritage of freedom, its tradition of Christianity, and its slogan of nation-wide prosperity? The answer is clear, to any who will note the harrowing episodes narrated by these mothers and fathers who need friendly help and advice, and who fail to receive it from those who make the greatest pretensions to universal helpfulness, the politicians, the capitalists, ministers of religion, and doctors of medicine. Many of these are arrayed in solid resistance to the communication of this friendly advice to the women of this country; they are showing their true character of proud incompetency, invincible ignorance, inflexible phariseeism. These men and women who resist progress in the name of religion, morality, patriotism, Christianity! Each one is driving another nail through the quivering flesh of some poor mother, crucifying anew the womanhood which could be divine, making wretched the childhood which was made for happiness, brutalising the fatherhood which might be holy.

How can these persecuting professors of religion claim to be religious or moral while they do their utmost to suppress the humanitarian work of people like Mrs. Sanger? They claim to love their gods, but they work to produce and reproduce human misery. They advocate salvation for the soul, but seem to overlook the outstanding fact that the most significant and prominent feature of the life of the soul is its association with a body, which may be, and often is, a fit temple for the holy spirit of man, and yet more often is degraded into a pain-wracked habitation of torment, fit only for the dwelling place of a spirit of darkness and evil.

Some day when Mrs. Sanger writes another book of letters, it might contain a chapter of letters from ex-champions of the suppression of light and truth, confessing their past wrong-doing, expressing their regret for their vain efforts to obstruct this beautiful and civilizing work which Mrs. Sanger and her increasing hosts of colleagues are endeavoring to do for America, and for the world! If you owe Mrs. Sanger a letter like that, sit down and write it today!

HERBERT A. STURGES.

Lombard College.

Correspondence

Unemployment and Russia

Editor of UNITY:

"Why is there such widespread unemployment in Soviet Russia, where confiscation has already taken place?" —Editor. (UNITY, April 28, p. 142.)

In the writer's opinion one of the most vivid, curt explanatory summing up of the causes of poverty and unemployment was the sentence written by Carleton H. Parker, who died a victim to the war, when he investigated the much maligned group of I. W. W.'s at the request of President Wilson.

He wrote (I quote from memory) "It is the problem of a landless, jobless, homeless, womanless man."

While it is true confiscation of the owning and exploiting class mentioned by Keynes is occurring in Russia and hastened as much as possible, there is probably no place in the world where generally the laboring class is not only safe as to his wage but is protected from exploitation. The Soviet Republic is founded on the principle of doing away with money the love of which a certain book states is "the root of all evil." If they can do away with money they will abolish the love of it, and it is done rapidly.

I am not so sure but that the linking up of what is first section of the editorial on the first page expressing disgust with the Peace fiasco might be shown to have effect in certain parts of Soviet Russia as influencing further confiscation. If my memory is not at fault the Soviet Republic first asked abandonment of war and militarism but it was said it was because they were afraid. Certainly my faith in Russia is due considerably to John Haynes Holmes and "Anise." Confiscation of property and goods and wage seem to thrive in all nations where Business big and little controls the balance of power under the camouflage of what is called law. It seems to thrive as luxuriantly in cultured Boston as among the spindles of the sunny south, the mining regions and agriculture generally. It burns up Sacco and Vanzetti in the east and furnishes a living tomb for Mooney and others in the west. No longer can it be ascribed to foreign nationalities or certain strata of society or a religious creed. Often the one who howls loudest for Mussolini is the wealthy high-bred business man who has sized it all up on a combined pleasure and business trip for, say four to six months. But he probably belongs to some zoological or orthinological "bunch" or group of leading citizens. Another belief or obsession is that W. H. Taft and Theodore Roosevelt unwittingly combined to bring about the present agricultural situation. Realizing that David Lubin in the face of seeming unsurmountable obstacles had interested the real dirt honest-to-goodness farmer Taft sent his Rural Commission appointed

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

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The Tyranny of the British Salt Tax in India

I

THE BRITISH SALT THIEF

By Mahatma Gandhi

The history of the evolution of the salt tax (in India) furnishes by itself complete condemnation of the British government. Next to air and water, salt is perhaps the greatest necessity of life. It is the only condiment of the poor. Cattle cannot live without salt. Salt is a necessary article in many manufactures. It is also a rich manure.

There is no article like salt outside water by taxing which the State can reach even the starving millions, the sick, the maimed and the utterly helpless. This tax, therefore, constitutes the most inhuman poll tax that the ingenuity of man can devise. The wholesale price per maund of 82 lbs. is, according to Government publications, as low as ten pies, and the tax, say, twenty annas, i. e., 240 pies. This means 2,400 per cent of the sale price!

What this means to the poor can hardly be imagined by us. Salt production, like cotton growing, has been centralized for the sake of sustaining the inhuman monopoly. The necessary consequence of the wilful destruction of the spinning wheel was destruction of cottage cultivation of cotton. The necessary consequence of salt monopoly was the destruction, i. e., the closing down of salt works in thousands of places where the poor people manufactured their own salt.

A correspondent writes to me from Konkan, saying that if the people had freedom, they could pick up the salt from the deposits made by the receding tides on the bountiful coast. But he sorrowfully adds that officers turn the salt over into the sea as fast as nature deposits it. He adds, however, that those who can successfully evade the salt police do help themselves to this sea salt.

Gujrat workers report the existence of many places where, but for prohibition, people can get their salt as easily as they can dig out earth for many household purposes. Bengal free can today manufacture all the salt she can ever need. And yet she is forced to import all the salt she eats. . . .

The civil resisters will have an ample opportunity of their ability to conduct their campaign regarding the tax in a most effective manner. The illegality is in a government that steals the people's salt and makes them pay heavily for the stolen article. The people, when they become conscious of their power, will have every right to take possession of what belongs to them.

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II

THE SALT TAX IN INDIA

By Ramsay Macdonald

The Salt Tax has long been regarded as a blemish on our Indian fiscal system. It is light (when it was lowest, from 1907, it stood at 1 rupee per 82 2-7 lb. and meant a tax of about 3½d. per head per annum), but still it is no mean proportion of the income of Indian families. Though salt taxation was known in India before, its present history dates from the imposition of Clive and Warren Hastings when the Company was hard up. It has been retained on the ground that it is well that every Indian should feel the cost of government. As a matter of fact he feels nothing of the kind; he just knows that the price of his salt is high, though salt is a necessity. But supposing there was something in this notion of making everybody feel the cost of the administration (and there is nothing), it would only apply to a self-governing people who may rightly be taught the financial consequences of political acts. . . .

In India, where the government is a bureaucracy, even this theoretical justification for the Salt Tax does not exist. If the Indian salt consumer had all the wisdom necessary to come to sound conclusions upon the cost of this government, he has no power to alter it by one farthing. The Salt Tax is exaction and oppression; and if the people understood it, it would only breed discontent. It is a survival of the general exploitation of India's poverty by a profit-making company. The argument for its retention illustrates the error so prevalent in India, of assuming that the political wisdom of a Western self-governing State is also political wisdom in an autocratically or bureaucratically governed one, and that a bureaucracy has the same right to impose burdens on a people that a representative legislature has. The payers of the Salt Tax have no more to say in Indian policy than the man in the moon, and the price of their salt has no more influence on the bureaucracy than the cost of their weddings.—"The Government of India," pages 126 and 127.

—*The Oriental Press, New York City.*

A Lynching in the South

How a mob in Chickasha, Oklahoma, lynched a small Negro who was known to be insane, burned an army truck and threatened to run all peaceable, law-abiding Negroes out of town, is reported by Robert W. Bagnall, director of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Bagnall not only got all available facts concerning the lynching for the N. A. A. C. P. but held a public meeting in the town, denounced the lynching from the platform, and urged punishment of the mobbists, receiving the endorsement of Mayor Jess Larson, who publicly stated that were he

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by himself and governors of states to study Rural Credit emphasizing some form of the Raiffeisen system. It was overwhelmingly recommended. Did the farmer get it? But Lubin's plan was surplanted by a Rural Life movement which turned its back on the "dirt" farmer in favor of the man who "farms the farmer." Neither Taft nor Roosevelt had real sympathy for the farmer like David Lubin who if he had lived would have put his plans through even as he did the Institute of Agriculture which he wished located at Washington. And the politicians killed that.

Chicago, Illinois JOEL HENRY GREENE, M. D.

The Spirit of India

[Extract from a personal letter to Mr. Holmes]

". . . I am writing you from the battlefield, and a few minutes before starting for the 'raid' on the Dharasan Salt Depot. Over two thousand volunteers are starting for the 'raid' with us. They have come from all parts of —. Today's is intended to be a fight to the finish. If all goes according to plan, very few will be left at the end of the chapter to tell the tale unless the authorities get tired of shooting absolutely peaceful men.

"In Sholapur there was recently some mob violence. Martial law was proclaimed as a result, and orders were given prohibiting the display of the national flag under penalty of rigorous imprisonment up to ten years. You will be glad to learn that young men were not wanting to take up the challenge and defy the humiliating notification. A number of them have received heavy sentences. Most of these are still in their teens.

"If we can give a satisfactory account of ourselves today, we shall have sterilized destructive weapons of their dread and terror. A new spirit is firing the country, particularly the young who refuse to cower before brute force however overwhelming." P.

Jewish Institute of Religion

Editor of UNITY:

I am writing to correct slight error in Sydney Strong's write-up of the Commencement exercises of the Jewish Institute of Religion (issue of June 9, p. 232). Mr. Strong speaks of the J. I. R. as "only five years old." This is not correct, for while the Fifth Commencement exercises were held this year, the First Commencement exercises were held in 1926, four years after the Institute had already been in session. In other words, the Jewish Institute of Religion was founded by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise in 1922, and it is therefore eight years old.

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confronted ever again with such another situation he would fire into the mob and shoot to kill. The facts as obtained by Mr. Bagnall and sent to the N. A. A. C. P. national office are as follows.

Chickasha is a town of 24,000 population with about 2,000 Negroes. On May 28, a Negro boy named Henry Argo went fishing near a shack inhabited by the poorest sort of whites. The dog of a family named Skinner attacked the boy and he beat the dog off. The woman of the family took Argo to task for hitting the dog and threatened him with a hoe, whereupon the Negro lad cursed her and said he would do the same thing to her that he had to the dog.

Two days later the boy again went fishing. That afternoon the Skinner woman told her husband that Argo had attacked her and choked her baby. The baby showed no marks or sign of having been harmed. The Negro boy was picked up by an under-sheriff and lodged in the county jail. The woman came to town and identified him as her alleged assailant.

That night the mob gathered, the jail being defended by an inexperienced "home guard" which used only blank cartridges. The mob in its attacks on the jail set fire to oil-soaked matresses and threw them in the windows. During the early part of the mob attacks the sheriff was absent. While the sheriff, who arrived at length, was holding off the mob in front of the building, one mobbist climbed above the cell and fired into Argo's head mortally wounding him.

Over the mayor's remonstrances the sheriff opened the door to the mob and permitted them to look at the Negro lad. It was then that Skinner, husband of the woman who had alleged the attack, suddenly plunged a long knife into Argo's body above the heart. The Negro lad was then wrapped in a sheet as if dead and carried in an ambulance to Oklahoma City where he died within an hour.

Although warned not to come to the city Bagnall arrived two days after the lynching, and was called upon fifteen minutes after his arrival by Mayor Larson. The Mayor expressed himself as deeply outraged by the lynching. Mr. Bagnall held two public meetings in Chickasha, one of them with nearly six hundred people present, at which he urged the culpable officers be put out of office and the guilty lynchers punished. The Mayor, who followed Mr. Bagnall on the platform, said he agreed with what Mr. Bagnall said and urged his listeners to help themselves and to help race relations by joining the N. A. A. C. P. of which he himself was a member.

"It is not good politics," Mr. Bagnall reports the Mayor as saying, "to come here at this time, but I don't want to play politics. I want to go to my bed with a clear conscience so I can sleep and I want to let you know how I stand in this whole matter no matter how it may affect my political fortunes."

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United Synagogue Raps Plan of School Time Off for Religion

A resolution opposing the plan to allow children in the public schools to take one hour a day from their regular class time to receive religious instruction was adopted by the executive council of the New York branch of the United Synagogue of America. The council contends that such a system would tend toward the integration of the school system with religious activities. The resolution adopted reads as follows:

Whereas, the principle of total separation of Church and State is well established and fundamental in American life, and Whereas, it is for the best interest of the American people that our great public school system should make for the unity and tolerance of all religious and non-religious elements that make up our great American population, and Whereas, there has appeared in this country a movement for the utilization of our public school system in the service of the religious organizations for the purpose of strengthening various and diverse faiths, and Whereas, one of the ways in which an attempt is made to use our schools for religious purposes is to ask the public schools to release children of various faiths one hour from their regular class work to obtain religious instruction, and Whereas, this deprivation of full time school attendance and instruction and the requirement to attend and the sanction to permit the attendance during the time set for school attendance will tend toward the integration of the school system with religious activities.

Now, therefore be it resolved that the New York branch of the United Synagogue, representing 67 Jewish congregations in this city expresses its strong opposition to this attempt and it further calls upon the board of education definitely to rule against this projected plan, and to see to it that in those districts where the plan has already been instituted, directions be given for its discontinuance.

Hyman J. Reit, president, New York branch of the United Synagogue of America; Rabbi Moses J. S. Abels, Rabbi W. B. Leon Hurwitz, Judge Benjamin Marvin, M. R. Silverman, and Harry H. Goebel signed the resolution.

Judge Reit, announcing the resolution, stated that he regarded the proposal to release children from school for the purpose of being given religious instruction as being "subversive to the best interests of both religion and state. Nothing must come into the school system that would tend to divide and emphasize differences."